



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER,
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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October 1996

96-6

THE BALL SITE: 22 YEARS OF REMINISCENCES

Dr. Dean Knight, Wilfrid Laurier University
Thursday, October 10th, 8:00 PM
London Museum of Archaeology

For our October speaker night we are pleased to present Dr. Dean Knight, Dept. of Anthropology, Wilfrid Laurier University. Dr. Knight will be speaking on his ongoing research at the Ball Site, an early contact period Huron village in Simcoe County. So come on out to the **LONDON MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY**, 1600 Attawandaron Road (near the corner of Wonderland and Fanshawe Park Road in the northwest end of the city). Meeting time is 8 PM.

Chapter Executive

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ANNUAL RATES

Individual..... \$15.00
Family..... \$18.00

Institutional..... \$21.00
Subscriber..... \$17.00

Len Fluhrer, III (686-6542)
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EXECUTIVE REPORT

Its election time again! Those wishing to participate in the London Chapter executive are invited to contact the Election Committee headed by Pete Timmins. He can be reached nights at 472-9189. Currently, the secretary position is vacant. Lorelyn Giese, who has served ably as the Chapter secretary for many years, has resigned.

SOCIAL REPORT

The summer picnic set for early September at Longwoods was cancelled due to rain (no surprise there, it rained all month)! As the picnic will not be rescheduled, start planning for the Christmas party. Thanks to the Nelsons we get to make a big mess of their house this year! The date for the festivities has been set, December 14 at 6:30 pm, but other details are still in the planning stage. One of the burning issues is: should we have a traditional turkey dinner or potluck finger foods? Contact an executive member with your preference.

For those sorry to have missed picnicking at the lovely woods of the Longwoods Conservation Authority, there is another opportunity to visit Longwoods: A TASTE OF FALL. This event is planned for Sunday, October 20. See the enclosed flyer for details.

EDITORS' REPORT

This month's article by Brent Mitchell, a Masters student at University of Western Ontario, provides a brief introduction to a timely topic: ethics in archaeology. Although this is not normal subject matter for KEWA, it is certainly a topic everyone has an opinion on. The editors hope that this article will generate a healthy dialogue among the readership.

While Brent's article takes a more global perspective, those interested in recent developments on issues of particular concern for Ontario may wish to examine the codes of ethics for the Association of Professional Archaeologists (APA) and the Canadian Association of Professional Heritage Consultants (CAPHC). On the national front, the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) also has a Code of Ethics and in 1996 published a *Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples: A Report from the Aboriginal Heritage Committee*. This report was sponsored by the CAA and the federal Department of Communications. Addresses for these organizations are provided below:

- APA, Box 101, McMaster University Post Office, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4L9.
- CAPHC, P.O. Box 1023, Station F, Toronto, M4Y 2P7
- Bjorn Simonsen, CAA, Executive Secretary, Space 162, Box 127, 3170 Tillicum Road, Victoria B.C., V9A 7H7.

Brent's article is followed by a partial listing of holdings in the Chapter's reference library compiled by Len Fluhrer, III. This issue contains an inventory of the monographs; a future issue will catalogue the periodicals.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONCERNS FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Brent Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

In the 1990's archaeology as a profession has been pulled from its traditional grounding in academia and thrust headlong into politics. The concerns which confront contemporary archaeologists are often exemplified in the guidelines which govern archaeological practice. These Codes of Ethics are frequently subdivided into three major areas of concern: the archaeologist's responsibility to the public, the archaeologist's responsibility to his/her colleagues, and the archaeologist's responsibility to employers and clients.

In the middle of the 20th century a growing concern for the protection of cultural heritage was recognized in North America. The rapid increase in industrial and residential development and road construction threatened archaeological sites. Cultural resource management (CRM) was seen as a response to this growing area of concern. In the United States, in the 1970's, government agencies were made responsible to fund assessment of archaeological resources. With this came the advent of private archaeological firms which practised cultural resource management (Davis 1990:211). Thus a triadic relationship ensued which, unlike any previous archaeological investigations, put first and foremost the responsibility of the archaeologist to the "client" (usually a developer). The third party in this relationship was a federal or state agency whose responsibilities were to include monitoring the archaeologist's progress and, at such a time as when conditions set forth by the agency were met, to give clearance for development.

A similar situation occurred in Canada, where the provincial governments took on the responsibility of monitoring and recording sites investigated by cultural resource management companies. In Canada too some may feel that it is money not archaeology that CRM is all about. However, the two are not mutually exclusive. The guidelines set up by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation, in consultation with CRM archaeologists, attempt to ensure that good CRM equals good archaeology.

While there are guidelines concerning the methodology for the excavation of archaeological sites (i.e. what percentage of a site need be excavated to determine its potential or cultural affiliation), there are few guidelines which stress the archaeologist's responsibility to the resource itself, or to the contemporary indigenous populations. It is also recognized that indigenous groups often have differing agendas that affect their archaeological interpretations (Healy 1982:128). Archaeologists are responsible to both the local community and to the resource itself. Both of these responsibilities should be recognized by practising archaeologists as their research does not unfold in a vacuum.

Archaeology is usually regarded as a discipline grounded in scientific methodology. As such the conclusions drawn from archaeological investigations are often classified as "true". In the real world of archaeology things are not so clear cut and undisputed. Differing local, national or international interpretations of archaeological data may come into conflict leaving the archaeologist in a complicated position. It is the responsibility of the archaeologist to understand to a reasonable extent the context of their research (both in the field and upon report production), as well as the short and long term effects of such research. In most instances archaeological investigations are focused on sites which are not culturally related to the archaeologist. This is especially relevant for archaeology conducted in the Americas, Australia and other colonized lands. Thus the understanding of the many intricacies of the culture(s) whose history is being revealed is an essential part of contemporary archaeology. Archaeologists must not only respect previous cultures (human remains and archaeological resources), but they must also respect contemporary populations which may potentially be affected by archaeological investigations.

There are three areas which merit further investigation as they provide insight into some of the problems being faced by archaeologists today: 1) the role of indigenous peoples in archaeology; 2) the Codes of Ethics currently guiding archaeological method and theory; and 3) the antiquities market, and how it affects both archaeologists, the public, and indigenous peoples.

A HIERARCHY OF PLAYERS

Before any analysis can commence it is necessary to introduce the players involved in archaeology and their (often opposing) roles. I set up a hierarchy according to my specific biases, which put foremost concerns for the archaeological resource and the proper recording of provenience. By no means do I argue that alternative suggestions are not possible.

At the highest level is the academic archaeologist. Here the goal is the attainment of scientific truth to enhance the knowledge of humanity's past for the benefit of all. At this level, no external influences should exist when choosing a research site or in the analysis of data.

At the second level are archaeologists affiliated with museums, and those practising CRM. Here the same high standards of academic professionalism are sought, while the primary goal is to conduct archaeological investigations as cost-effectively as possible.

Below this, at the third level, are amateur archaeologists and volunteers who not only contribute to archaeological investigations but also aid in the education of the public regarding archaeology.

At the fourth level are what are commonly known as collectors. Their primary goal is the individual collection of artifacts of high to medium quality and aesthetic value. Artifacts are seen by these collectors primarily as curios and kept in personal collections, or sold for meagre profits.

The fifth level consists of looters whose primary goal is to recover artifacts for the explicit purpose of commodity accumulation (usually money).

The sixth level includes entrepreneurs who hire crews of looters to meet the demand of foreign markets. It is at this level that most of the illegal transportation of artifacts out of the country of origin occurs. Often the artifacts are transported via Switzerland where they receive papers of validation, and then continue on to acquiror nations such as Australia and Japan (Pendergast 1991:95).

The seventh level may be recognized as loot-consumers or "acquirors". For these individuals their "interest in antiquities has nothing to do with the objects themselves but rather with the profits to be derived from speculating in the market" (Kaiser 1991:88).

THE ANTIQUITIES MARKET

The term "looter" is used herein to refer to any individuals involved in the excavation of archaeological sites who do not have proper skills to conduct such excavations correctly and productively (Society of Professional Archaeologists Code of Ethics 1976 2.2 [c], and Standards of Research Performance 1 [1.I] 1976). "Proper skills" refer to those developed from training by or consultation with level one to three archaeologists.

There is not space here for an in-depth analysis of all the intricacies of looting and looted material. There are, however, some major concerns which have recently dominated archaeological discussions concerning looting (Wylie 1995). First, it is generally agreed that no archaeologist shall participate in the buying or selling of artifacts (Champe et al., 1961). Second, there has been discussion of the use and acquisition of looted materials, and the effects these actions will have on archaeological sites (Kaiser 1990, 1991; Pendergast 1991; Ella 1991; Donnon 1991). Certainly, archaeologists are being placed in a state of paranoia regarding their publications. We have the responsibility to publish the results of our field work, and distribute that knowledge, yet at the same time what we publish may be used to fuel that which we strive to halt, namely looting.

I have had numerous meetings with collectors and looters, either to determine the archaeological potential an area or to photograph their collections. During one such meeting I observed that the looter had acquired maps, from the nearby university and museum, of previously excavated archaeological sites. As is well known, it is rare that 100% of an archaeological site is excavated, and thus the looters are left with a treasure map leading them to undiscovered riches. On one site I visited, that had been partially excavated in the early 1970's, the test units were still in place, thus providing looters with what could be considered akin to an 'X' marking the spot to dig.

The problem here, as Kaiser correctly points out, is that looting is seen as a victimless crime, and therefore, "it is difficult to convince the public that it should be concerned, much less distressed." (1991:88). I interviewed one looter about how he felt about his actions, and they are summed up nicely by his statement, "If it's theirs (the indigenous people on the reserve adjacent to his home) then why the hell aren't they out here digging it up?" It is easy to see that there is a large gap in understanding between the two differing world views of this informant and the local indigenous people. For this individual artifacts are imbued with no other value than aesthetics. He

was not interested in selling any, although he occasionally traded them with other looters. They represented the rewards of his hard labour, and "there was no way in hell you are going to get your hands on them!" Unfortunately he was right. There is no legislation in effect in Canada to repossess cultural resources from looters unless the resources can be definitely identified as belonging to someone else, which is almost an impossibility (Neal Ferris: personal communication).

The recommended solution to the looting of archaeological sites is education (Kaiser 1991:88). But as Pendergast makes clear global economic forces and the local social and political context affects archaeological investigations:

... the beleaguered economy [of Belize] offers less employment for its people than is needed. [T]he search for other sources of income inevitably leads many into the looting game. [A]n individual's involvement in looting is both understandable and unarguable; who can tell a father that he must leave his heritage untouched and allow his children to starve? (Pendergast 1991:90).

THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

For indigenous people archaeological material is imbued with a context specific value. When discussing Australian Aboriginal people and CRM, Creamer (1990) argues...

Aboriginal people have other views of the past and attach different cultural meanings to their sites, views seldom included in site management...Aboriginal views of the past could be included in the interpretation of cultural sites to provide a more balanced picture of history (Creamer 1990:130).

Most Natives of the Great Lakes region in Canada prefer that human remains, and often other archaeological sites, remain undisturbed. The past is seen as but a part in a cycle of life and death. To disturb a part of history, both temporally and spatially positioned, is not only morally wrong but potentially dangerous.

In other instances a projectile point may be removed from its archaeological context and serve as a symbol reminding indigenous people of a more glorious time (McIntosh, McIntosh and Togola 1989: 77). This is more evident in places such as Central America and Peru, where contemporary artifacts are appropriated as symbols of Aztec and Inka strength, and used to frame contemporary resistance (Fernandez and Brown 1991). "Sites have become important symbols of identity and links with a past of which they [Australian Aborigines] are proud" (Creamer 1990:130).

A third response of indigenous populations to archaeological resources is distrust. A misinterpretation which I have experienced repeatedly is that archaeologists are trying to link contemporary indigenous societies to those from prehistory, thus associating negative stereotypes of prehistoric populations to contemporary populations. Rosalind Langford argues:

There can be no doubt that your science of archaeology is white organized, white dominated, and draws its values and techniques from a European and Anglo-American culture and devotes much of its time to the study of non-white people. As such it has within it a cultural bias which has historically formulated an equation between non-white races and primitiveness (Langford 1983:2).

The further implication of this argument is that archaeologists are mere extensions of an imperialism which has never benefitted the indigenous peoples and provides no good reason for their trust now. Thus there is an interest in the effects of archaeological investigations, but there is little interest in the archaeological material itself. One wonders how long archaeologists must pay for the sins of our ancestors.

At the international level there is an interest in archaeological resources which affects both indigenous populations and archaeologists. The Third World poor are often forced to sell their cultural heritage to feed their families. In these circumstances it is hard for archaeologists to condemn their actions. Often the situation of people at the local level has been shaped by colonial influences, which usually included the outright theft of cultural property both historic and prehistoric. Now academics from First World countries are continuing the extraction of archaeological resources under the guise of "science". To argue that methodology is an issue is often useless. Indigenous conceptions about the past and their position in the contemporary social and political context under which archaeological investigations are being conducted must be addressed in order to both benefit and educate indigenous groups, and to conduct archaeological investigations more productively.

CODES OF ETHICS CURRENTLY GUIDING ARCHAEOLOGY

One way to help clear up issues such as looting, site management and protection, and the effects of archaeological investigations on local, often indigenous people, is the formulation of archaeological guidelines and codes of ethics. At present most professional archaeological associations have guidelines discussing archaeological practice. The problem is that most of these guidelines were formed when archaeology was much less complicated. To ask that these guidelines apply to contemporary problems faced by the archaeological community is too much. Thus new guidelines and amendments are being created to help deal with the socially and politically involved archaeology of the late 20th century and beyond.

After looking at a number of archaeological guidelines (the Society of Professional Archaeologists' Code of Ethics and Standards for Research Performance, the Society for American Archaeology's Ethics in Archaeology, the American Anthropological Association's Statements on Ethics, the Code of Practice of the British Archaeologists and Developers Liaison Group, the World Archaeological Congress' First Code of Ethics, the Archaeological Institute of America's Code of Ethics, the Constitution of the Society For Historical Archaeology, and the Constitution and the Code Of Ethics of the Anthropological Society of Western Australia Inc.), I have concluded that there are two noticeable gaps which are not covered in most of these guidelines. There is also concern about the

status of these documents as "guidelines".

The first gap in existing guidelines is that they do not specify the archaeologist's responsibility to the archaeological resource itself. Davis (1990) suggests that there is a dilemma in contemporary CRM, in that consultants (archaeologists) must be responsible "...to the archaeological resource, to the client, to the public, and to the regulatory agency" (Davis 1990:213). When discussing to whom archaeologists are responsible, the second absence in archaeological guidelines is evidenced. There is little provision in these guidelines for dealing with the concerns of indigenous peoples, and the effects archaeological investigations have on local communities.

The Society of Professional Archaeologists' Code of Ethics subdivides areas of archaeologists' responsibility into: 1) the public; 2) her/his colleagues; and 3) employers and clients. It is only in section 1.I (c) that any mention is made of responsibilities to indigenous populations, and even here the recommendations are vague: "Be sensitive to, and respect the legitimate concerns of groups whose culture histories are the subjects of archaeological investigations" (Society of Professional Archaeologists 1991). As well, there is no explicit mention of the archaeologist's responsibility to the archaeological resource, but in section 1.I (b) the archaeologist is advised to "Actively support conservation of the archaeological resource base."

In the Society of Professional Archaeologists' Standards of Research Performance no mention is made of the archaeologists' responsibility to the archaeological resource base or to indigenous peoples who may be influenced due to the excavation and/or analysis of those resources. Only recommendations that provenience be recorded touch on these concerns (sections 3.1 and 3.2).

The Society for American Archaeology's Ethics for Archaeology guideline only states that "destruction, distortion, or concealment of the data of archaeology is censured" (Society for American Archaeology 1989), excluding any mention of responsibilities to local populations or indigenous peoples.

The American Anthropological Association's Statements on Ethics divides anthropologists' responsibilities between: 1) relations with those studied; 2) responsibility to the public; 3) responsibility to the discipline; 4) responsibility to students; 5) responsibility to sponsors; and 6) responsibility to one's own government and to host governments. As these guidelines are oriented toward non-archaeological anthropologists the relations with those studied are included; there is no mention of archaeological resources. Under section 1 there are two subsections which are especially relevant for archaeologists. In part e) it is stated that there is an obligation to reflect on the foreseeable repercussions of research and publication on the general population being studied and part f) states that the anticipated consequences of research should be communicated as fully as possible to the individuals and groups likely to be affected.

The Code of Practice developed by the British Archaeologists and Developers Liaison Group sets out two codes: one for archaeologists and one for developers. In the archaeologists' code there is no mention of responsibilities to local communities, although it is recommended that artifactual material be "deposited in an appropriate museum" (British Archaeologists and Developers Liaison

Group 1989).

The First Code of Ethics of the World Archaeological Congress is made up of eight recommendations, each of which takes into account the effects which archaeological research will have at both local and global levels, and recommends appropriate relationships between the archaeologist and the cultural resources.

The Archaeological Institute of America's Code of Ethics does not address relations with groups culturally associated with archaeological investigations, nor does it make any recommendations regarding the conservation or storage of archaeological material.

The constitution of the Society for Historical Archaeology addresses archaeologists, colleges, employers, clients, and the public's relationship with archaeology, while excluding the archaeologists' responsibilities to indigenous peoples affected by archaeological investigations. At the same time the Society recommends and supports the conservation, preservation and research of archaeological resources.

The code of ethics of the Anthropological Society of Western Australia outlines six areas of responsibility for anthropologists: 1) relations with those studied; 2) relations with the profession; 3) relations with sponsors; 4) relations with gatekeepers; 5) relations with students; and 6) the anthropologists responsibility to the law. Of special note to archaeologists is a recommendation under section 1 for the pursuit of truthfulness during research. Relations between anthropologists and indigenous populations are also addressed. No mention is made of the relationship to the archaeological resource as the majority of the membership is more anthropological (socio-cultural, symbolic, linguistic) than archaeological.

However, all the recommendations in these documents are only "guidelines" and thus are not enforceable by law. This raises serious problems when discussing the looting of archaeological sites, and the relations archaeologists have with different interest groups associated with archaeological investigations.

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the archaeologist's relationship with indigenous communities, the problem of the looting of archaeological sites, and the guidelines shaping archaeology, are seen to be intimately connected. In the web of confusion surrounding these issues we as archaeologists must pay special attention to the local social and political context of our investigations, and the ways in which our research influences local communities. This review suggests that the best descriptions of our responsibilities as archaeologists are found in the World Archaeological Congress's First Code of Ethics and The Society of Professional Archaeologists' Code of Ethics and Standards of Research Performance.

With respect to the importance of indigenous histories, Lowenthal suggests:

The advantages of incorporating folk pasts none the less outweigh their difficulties. They provide a more comprehensive, if less clear-cut, understanding of how things may have been, they enlarge the scope of evidence that archaeologists, along with other scholars, must now absorb, by not simply adding but synthesizing artefactual with written and oral materials (Lowenthal 1990:312).

The necessity for archaeologists to be aware of the political context of their work has been emphasized by Davis:

I happen to believe that it is imperative that archaeologists become as knowledgeable about the political arena in which they work, or the legal constraints upon their work, as about statistics, cultural ecology, and the value of thermoluminescence (Davis 1986:115).

Archaeology as a science is not only concerned with the collection and analysis of artifacts. It is also about methodology, and good methodological procedures require that we not only respect the material remains of cultures and/or individuals, but also recognize the impact the local community has on contemporary archaeological investigations and in what ways these investigations affect local groups. Archaeology does not operate in a vacuum. It is our responsibility to be aware of the social, political and historical context of archaeological research, while at the same time striving to conserve and protect archaeological resources.

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PARTIAL LISTING OF THE LONDON CHAPTER REFERENCE LIBRARY

Len Fluhrer, III

The following is a partial list of publications currently held in the Chapter's reference library. A full inventory based on the Dewey Decimal system has been compiled and is available on computer. The library is housed on the second floor of 55 Centre Street. London Chapter members are welcome to peruse the volumes during working hours, or at other times by appointment; however, the books can not leave the premises.

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